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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY
NATIONAL FOREIGN ASSESSMENT CENTER22 December 1981
Information as of 1300BRIEFING NOTE FOR DCI

The regime continues to project an image of returning to "normalcy." The curfew in the Gdansk region has been shortened, and newspapers currently not being published apparently will reappear next Monday. According to a government spokesman, some internees have been released, with others to follow depending on how pacification proceeds. These all appear to be cultural figures, not Solidarity activists who might return to the factories in order to organize resistance. [REDACTED]

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At the same time the Polish party's Central Committee is reporting a decline in strike activity, it notes that Solidarity has absorbed the initial shock of martial law and is now attempting to rebuild its structure. Union militants are reported to be active in Warsaw and several provinces and Solidarity banners are reappearing in some factories. [REDACTED]

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The regime's press spokesman, who reiterated that Solidarity was only suspended, also claims that Walesa is conducting talks with representatives of the government. Although there is no other information to confirm this, Walesa apparently has been moved to Warsaw, perhaps to facilitate preliminary exchanges with the Church and the authorities. Until now Walesa has been adamant about not negotiating until the union's senior officials are freed. As recently as yesterday, Archbishop Glemp told the US Ambassador that Walesa was resisting talks. [REDACTED]

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The regime still faces some trouble spots. Three facilities in Katowice remain on strike--two mines where nearly 3,000 workers are still on strike and Huta Katowice where the Central Committee admitted today around 1,000 are on strike. A US embassy officer, observing the steel plant, noted that only two of the eight smokestacks were emitting smoke. At the change of shifts in mid-afternoon, he saw only office workers coming out

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[redacted]

and no workers entering. The church is trying to mediate the confrontation in the mines. [redacted] told a US embassy officer that he "hopes" the situation will end peacefully, although both the miners and police are "nervous." In Gdansk where shipyard workers have been told to stay home until 4 January, military crews apparently have replaced them.

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Pope John Paul II's message to Jaruzelski Friday was an emotional appeal to end martial law and resolve the crisis through peaceful dialogue in order to avoid further bloodshed. The same message was sent to the Primate, Archbishop Glemp, and to Walesa. Bishop Dabrowski, who has been the Polish churchman most often in contact with regime officials, is currently in Rome, presumably giving the Pope an update on his mediating efforts. The Pope's appeal is likely to have a strong impact on Walesa and the Polish populace when it is publicized. [redacted]

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There have been no new Soviet activities or statements of significance since 0730. [redacted]

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In an earlier development, [redacted] reports that the Soviet ambassador to Mauritius struck an optimistic note in discussing the Polish situation with a leftist contact [redacted] [redacted] the confrontation between the martial law regime and its opponents to be ended soon, and asserted that the regime could not in any circumstances revert to the old pattern of negotiations with Solidarity.

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The ambassador, who was presumably speaking in accord with official guidance, described Lech Walesa as a "good socialist" who would make the decisions necessary for the good of his country. This remark suggests that, at least on 17 December, the Soviets regarded Walesa as a potentially useful tool who could be employed to reshape Solidarity along the submissive lines of "official" Soviet unions. [redacted]

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This Soviet assessment may have been shaken in the interim by Walesa's intractability. Nevertheless, the ambassador's remarks suggest that Moscow is encouraging the Poles to search for malleable figures among the arrested leaders of Solidarity.

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[redacted] "this fall" the entire KGB department dealing with Poland was placed on alert and that officers had to be on call during off hours. The alert status presumably remains in effect. He also claimed that there

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was a "colossal" number of KGB personnel in Poland, including many "illegals" who worked under foreign cover to infiltrate Solidarity. Such an extensive network of informants and operatives would give Moscow an independent intelligence capability and strengthen its ability in dealing with the regime. [REDACTED]

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